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History and Government of New Jersey

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A Supplement to

ELEMENTARY AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

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HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT OF NEW JERSEY

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HOW NEW JERSEY BECAME A STATE

Earliest Settlers. In the seventeenth century two nations laid claim to what is now New Jersey. This was the time when all the great European nations were seeking, by the planting of colonies, to secure a firm foothold in North America. Although the voyage of Cabot had given England a shadowy claim to the whole Atlantic seaboard south of Labrador, the Dutch and the Swedes threatened to drive a wedge between her New England colonies and those further south by planting themselves at the mouth of the Hudson and along the lower waters of Delaware Bay. A glance at the map will show how New Jersey is naturally marked off from her neighbors north and south by these two deep gashes in the Atlantic coastline.

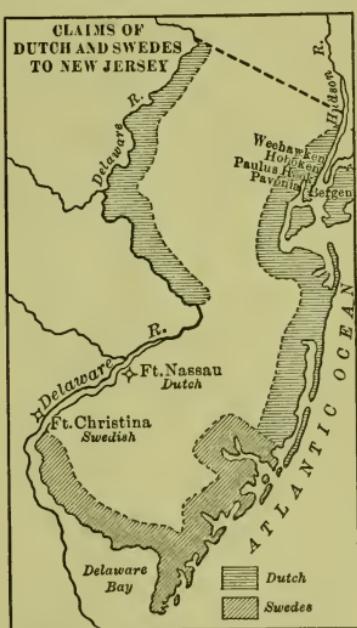
Beginning with the settlement of New Amsterdam, the Dutch West India Company began slowly to penetrate the interior of America by way of the Hudson. At the same time they planted a few straggling settlements on the Jersey side of New York Bay and laid claim to the entire coast southwards to the mouth of the Delaware. What is now New York State claimed their attention in the main and they gave little thought to New Jersey. A patroonship or great estate, running into hundreds of acres, was granted to a Michael Pauw. Besides Staten Island, this included the land upon which now stand Hoboken and Jersey City. Pauw, however, took comparatively little interest in his tract and sold out his rights.

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The Dutch settlers were very slow to take up a residence in New Jersey. By 1664 they had small settlements at Paulus Hook and Bergen (both within the present limits of Jersey City), and also at Hoboken, Pavonia, and Weehawken. A few settlers had built themselves homes on Newark Bay, but the actual settlement had progressed so slowly that when the Dutch were forced to give up New Netherland, few traces of their occupation remained.



They were interested enough in maintaining their claims to this region to oppose the efforts of the Swedish government to plant a settlement on the Delaware. King Gustavus Adolphus, a farsighted man, sought to secure for Sweden a foothold on the Atlantic coast and sent out a colony which made a settlement on the present site of the city of Wilmington. Although this colony was within the state of Delaware, the region claimed as New Sweden took in the eastern bank of the Delaware, or a part of South Jersey. As early as 1623 they had

attempted to settle at Gloucester, but were driven away. The Dutch finally sent out an expedition under Peter Stuyvesant in 1655, and put an end to any possibility of New Jersey or Delaware becoming a dependency, or colony, of Sweden.

Changing Masters. Meanwhile, the English had watched with a jealous eye the progress of the Dutch colonies in New Netherland, and when war broke out in Europe in 1664 between the English and the Dutch, Charles II sent an expedition under Colonel Nicolls to seize New Netherland. The Dutch made but little resistance and New York and New Jersey came under the English flag. The Duke of York, a brother of



King Charles II, was made proprietor of the conquered territory. Although it was seized by the Dutch when war broke out again in 1673, it was restored to the English the following year and remained in their hands from that time forward.

The name New Jersey was now given to that part of the conquered territory, bounded on the east by the Atlantic and on the west by the Delaware and on the north by a line drawn from the Hudson at the forty-first parallel of latitude to strike the Delaware at $41^{\circ} 40'$. These are the boundaries of the present state. This land was ceded to Sir George Carteret and to Lord Berkeley by the Duke of York even before it was captured and was considered by one who knew the country to be the best part of all New Netherlands.

Carteret had served King Charles I, the father of the Duke, most acceptably during the great Civil War in England as governor of the Isle of Jersey in the English Channel, where he had held out to the very last against the parliamentary forces sent to take it. The Duke of York felt that he owed him a special debt of gratitude because in 1650 he had turned his own family from his castle on the Island in order to make room for the Duke and his retainers.

Lord Berkeley was a brother of the famous governor of Virginia who had so much trouble with the colonists under Bacon and had been a governor of the Duke in his youth. He had recently lost (1662) a grant of £3500 which he had spent in purchasing the rights of a certain Earl of Sterling on Long Island.

Form of Government. New Jersey and the Carolinas which were colonized at this same time (1664) represented a new kind of colony. Their settlement was more like a business venture. The proprietors undertook to make them a paying proposition and thought of little else. Philip Carteret, a nephew of Sir George, was appointed governor of New Jersey. Before he set out from England, the new proprietors showed their anxiety to secure colonists by offering special inducements

to any who would accompany him. These efforts resulted in the planting of a settlement at Elizabethtown, which was named after Lady Carteret. On his arrival he found some Dutch and Swedes at Bergen and some English exiles from Long Island and Connecticut at Shrewsbury. These had come here because of their desire to escape religious persecution,



LANDING OF CARTERET

A painting in the Courthouse at Newark. The proclamation announcing the change of ownership is being read in the presence of the governor. Note the costumes worn at this time.

and they had purchased their lands from the Indians. The proprietors drew up such a liberal form of government for the colony that settlers migrated there all the way from New England, founding the town of New Milford, later known as Newark and settling also at Piscataway and Woodbridge. These were Puritans and their number increased to such an extent that the colony resembled in many particulars, especially in the emphasis upon religion, the Puritan settlements in New England. The Puritan settlers of Newark had come, as they expressed it, "to be of one heart and consent, through God's blessing, that with one hand they may endeavor the carrying on of spiritual concerns, as also civil and town affairs according to God and a godly government." A legislature was granted by the proprietors, but this soon made so many

claims upon the governor for rights and privileges that it was dismissed. For seven years the people were without a legal assembly.

The Division of the Colony. An effort on the part of the Duke of York to take back his grant, and trouble with the colonists, led to a division of the colony into East and West Jersey. (See map, page 73). Until 1702 it was a question what was to be the future of this strip of our Atlantic seaboard. Lord Berkeley sold his share, known as West Jersey, to some Quakers for one thousand pounds; and eight years later (1682), soon after the death of Sir George Carteret, the other portion, known as East Jersey, fell into the hands of William Penn and twenty-four associates. The rights of Carteret were sold at public auction for £3400. The new owners were not all Quakers, as Scotch Presbyterians were to be found among their number.

In 1688 James II placed East and West Jersey, along with New York and a part of New England, under the rule of Edmund Andros, hoping to unite several of the colonies into a powerful state; but when he was driven out of England in 1688, his representative was seized and imprisoned, and thus ended his schemes for a single great colony in this region. With this exception, each of these divisions of New Jersey down to 1702 had its own separate history and government.

West Jersey. The more important of these seems to have been West Jersey. Its new Quaker proprietors gave the people a charter which was a remarkable document. It granted the most liberal terms to Jerseymen, including freedom of worship, trial by jury, the right to petition the government and open courts for the trial of offenders. Even arbitrary imprisonment for debt was forbidden. When these arrangements are compared with the privileges enjoyed elsewhere in the new world, they will appear to be most unusual.

The colonists were given a legislature or law-making body to which they elected representatives. These were paid and had full liberty to say what they pleased. The proprietors

did not try to govern the colony directly, but placed the power first in the hands of commissioners, and later appointed a governor. In order that the people might be thoroughly satisfied with this new form of government, it was submitted to them for approval. By so doing it was recognized that the people themselves are really the source of all power and that it is through them and with their consent that governments are created. "We lay," said the Quaker framers of this document, "a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as Christians and as men, that they may not be brought into bondage but by their own consent, for we put the power in the people." This form of government continued as long as West Jersey remained a separate colony.

Two of the proprietors of West Jersey had seen service under Oliver Cromwell. They were quite successful in persuading settlers to emigrate to their colony and in 1675 founded the city of Salem, the first permanent settlement on the East side of the Delaware. Two years later, in 1677, four hundred Quakers came over from England and founded Burlington, which soon became the most important commercial center of this region until the rise of Philadelphia. About this time ships were sailing for West Jersey once in two or three months, landing settlers and freight at Burlington. The price for the passage was five pounds for each adult and forty shillings a ton for freight.

East Jersey. The people of East Jersey were not so fortunate in having the management of their affairs placed in their own hands. They too received a form of government from the proprietors of the province, but it granted them less privileges than those which they had enjoyed before the colony was divided. There was considerable emigration from Scotland into East Jersey. Perth Amboy was settled at this time, its name suggesting its Scotch origin. This was the capital of East Jersey and was an important port, a collector of customs residing there.

New Jersey comes under the Rule of the English Government. In 1702 the proprietors of each colony sold back their rights to the English government because they felt that the colonies were unprofitable. The colonists had given them considerable trouble by constantly demanding new rights and privileges. Relations with their neighbors, too, were often annoying, especially with New York.

At this time there were probably about 10,000 Quakers, New Englanders, and Scotch Presbyterians in East Jersey,



INTERIOR OF A QUAKER MEETING HOUSE

This interior presents a sharp contrast to that of the modern church. Such buildings were numerous in the parts of the state settled by the Quakers.

attack they were in no grave danger from the Indians.

Struggle to Control their Own Affairs. For a time New Jersey was placed under the same royal governor as New York, but had its separate council and assembly. The old division into East and West Jersey was still recognized in choosing members for the assembly, the people in each division selecting twelve. Only those owning property were allowed to vote or hold office. The colonists did not like to think that they were a part of New York and so kept petitioning the English government for a governor of their own. More than thirty years passed before this request was granted (1738). Lewis

and not over 4000 settlers in West Jersey. These last were mainly Quakers. Large herds of cattle roamed the broad lowland meadows. There was comparatively little foreign trade and very little manufacturing. The people were generally loyal to the government, the taxes were light, and public salaries small. With Pennsylvania and New York as buffers against any

Morris, who became governor in 1738, was largely responsible for this. Among the changes which were introduced at this time, perhaps the most important was the combining of the council and assembly into a legislative body of two houses. With this date the separate history of New Jersey may be said to commence.

The spirit of the people at this time was shown in their quarrels with the governor over the question of how much power was to be exercised by him and how much by the people themselves. This same spirit is to be seen throughout the early history of the colony and shows how devoted the colonists were to the ideal of liberty. This explains the prominence of New Jersey in the struggles between the colonies and England later.

The French and Indian Wars in New Jersey. The French and Indian Wars made it necessary for the people of New Jersey to provide for their own defense and for that of their sister colonies. On the whole the people of New Jersey showed themselves both eager and willing to do their share. They showed perhaps less jealousy of their neighbors than did some of the other colonies. Governor Morris testified to this, saying that they showed "a due regard both for the rights of government and the liberties of the people." In the midst of quarrels with their governors they voted money and raised troops for defense against the common foe. Because of opposition to the quartering of soldiers on the people, barracks were built by the legislature at Burlington, Trenton, New Brunswick, Perth Amboy, and Elizabethtown. A great service was rendered the colony by Governor Francis Bernard when he called a meeting of Indian chiefs at Easton, Pennsylvania, and won their good will, thereby saving the western frontier from some of the raids which brought death and destruction to other colonies. Then, too, the people of New Jersey had been careful from the beginning to purchase their lands from the native inhabitants. David Brainerd's work as a missionary among the Indians near Freehold, like that of John Eliot in New

England, helped to win their friendship and prevented any uprisings against the population. During this struggle New Jersey showed little interest in any plan for uniting the colonies. Governor Fletcher, who had been commissioned governor of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and military head of Connecticut during the first of these wars, reported to the home government that the small colonies were as much divided on a plan of union as Christian and Turk. New Jersey was not represented in the Albany Congress in 1754.

Character of the People. The people were still largely devoted to farming, living in villages or in some cases in spacious and elegant country houses. In many of their towns, New England customs were to be found. One of the most interesting of these was the practice of giving over the care of the poor to the persons who made the lowest bid for their maintenance at a public auction. In these towns they were very much opposed to stage plays, cock fighting, and card playing, and passed strict laws against such practices.

New Jersey at the Outbreak of the Revolution. The greatest of New Jersey's governors was the last man to be appointed to the office by the king of England, William Franklin, the son of the famous Benjamin Franklin. This was at the time when the King of England was trying to enforce the Stamp Act in America. The new governor sided with the English government, as did many of the colonists. So many of the young men went into the government service either in the colony or in England and so many others were educated in the mother country or married there that families were now divided, some of the members upholding the king, while others strongly opposed his tyranny. The patriots were strong enough, however, to control the legislature and to send delegates to the Stamp Act Congress in 1765. "Sons of Liberty" were formed to resist the tax, and mobs "burned effigies, erected gallows, and threatened any one who should attempt to use the stamps."

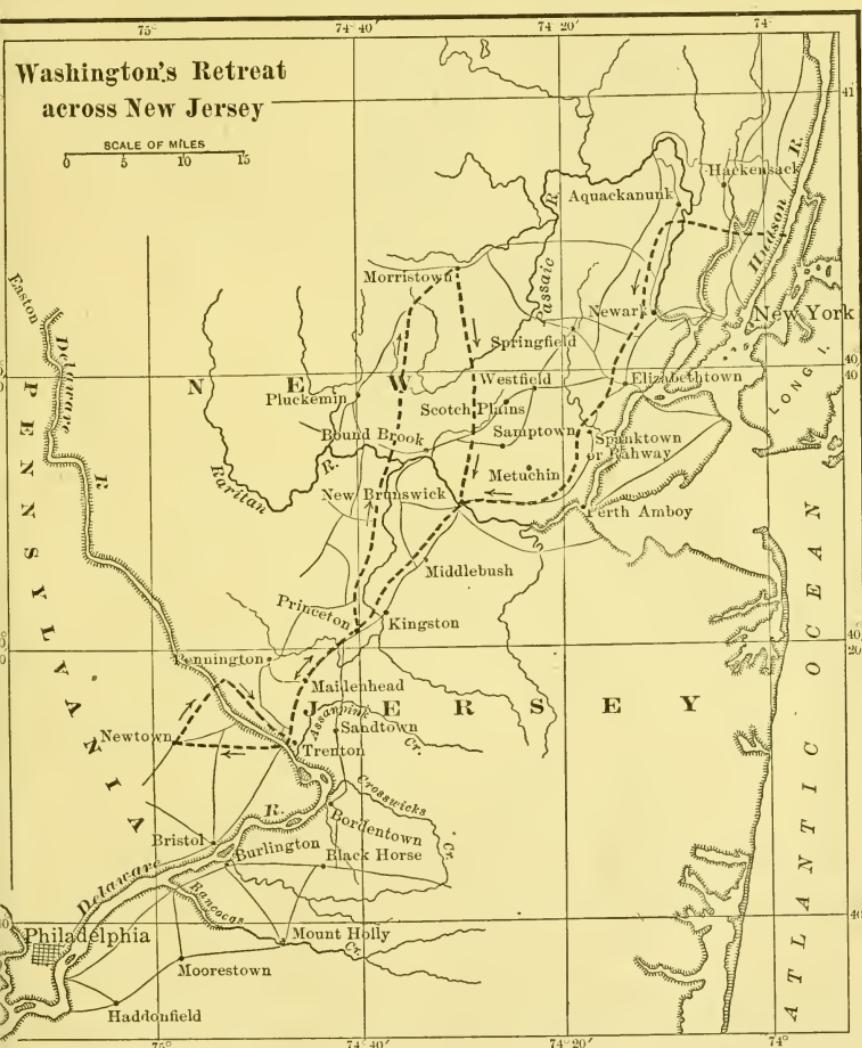
When the situation between the mother country and her colonies became more tense and strained in the years immediately before the outbreak of the Revolution, these patriots were to be found among the active supporters of the non-importation agreements, sending sympathy and aid to the people of Boston when they heard that the English government had closed the port. A meeting was held in Newark in June, 1774, to organize for resistance, and, as the members of the committee chosen here were from Elizabethtown, this town became the headquarters of the patriot movement. Delegates were sent to the first Continental Congress; a committee of correspondence was appointed for the colony as a whole; and committees were appointed in some of the counties.

This step was soon followed by meetings in the different counties to elect delegates to attend a convention at Trenton on May 23, 1775. These delegates, immediately upon coming together, insisted that they were the real governing body of the colony, and proceeded to organize an association for the defense of the colony. At the same time they provided for a militia force. Later in the year they arranged for a more representative gathering of the patriots and this congress, which was held at Trenton, placed itself in close touch with the Continental Congress. From this time on the colony was independent of England. Although the delegates who attended the Continental Congress had been instructed to oppose any plan for independence, those who were present a year later enthusiastically supported the Declaration of Independence. The day before this, on July 3, 1776, the patriots at home had drawn up a constitution for the new state of New Jersey. This was the work of some of the most prominent men at the time, including such men as Witherspoon, Hart, Clark, Paterson, Dickinson, and Frelinghuysen. It remained in force without change for almost three quarters of a century — a record surpassed by only one other state of the original thirteen, Massachusetts.

Trouble with the Tories. The situation of New Jersey made her play a very prominent part in the fighting, and her separate history was soon merged with that of the country at large. While their fellow colonists were fighting in Massachusetts, the state was having trouble with the Tories. The people of New Jersey had split into two parties, each violently opposed to the other. Civil war followed. "Neighbors fought neighbors with the ferocity shown in the border states during the Civil War." At first the Tories took a pledge not to pay any of the taxes or obey the orders of the government. The provincial congress was inclined to be lenient with them, but such large numbers left the state to take sides with the British or remained to plot its destruction that they were forced to take more vigorous measures against them. These Tories had their headquarters in the northeastern part of the state and on Staten Island, and as the British troops occupied this territory they became bolder.

The Campaign of 1776. One of the most important campaigns of the entire Revolution was that of 1776. When Howe landed at New York in 1776, Washington had been forced to abandon the city, slowly retreating northwards up the Hudson and finally crossing to the Jersey side. After the battle of White Plains he fell back across the northern part of New Jersey by way of Hackensack and Newark, which he reached, November 22. Here he spent five days. The outlook was discouraging. News came of a dangerous uprising of the Tories in Monmouth County and a battalion had to be sent there to stamp out the revolt. As Washington left the city on the 28th, the enemy's advance guard entered at one end while he was passing out at the other. He fell back, by way of Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, Springfield, and Scotch Plains, upon New Brunswick and from there retreated to Trenton, closely pursued by Howe and his forces. He finally reached the opposite bank of the Delaware, where he was safe for the time being, as Howe had no boats to pursue him. On his march through

In the state, Howe was greatly aided by farmers who apparently sold their loyalty very cheap and were willing to supply the



troops with produce in exchange for British gold. Washington's forces were steadily dwindling in number and the outlook was very dark.

The Tories were active at this time and did everything in their power to interfere with the plans of the patriots. With

their help, pamphlets prepared by Howe were circulated in New Jersey, and had it not been for the outrages committed by the British and Hessians on their march through the state, it is very possible that thousands would have been won over to the Tory side.

Battles of Trenton and Princeton. The fortunes of the little army under Washington were entirely changed by the beginning of the next year. His army had been reinforced to the extent of several thousand men and now numbered about 6000. The British troops had been stationed in winter quarters at three points, New Brunswick, Trenton, and Bordentown. Washington decided to attack one of these. Crossing the Delaware on Christmas night, the patriot army under his leadership inflicted a severe defeat upon the Hessians stationed at Trenton under Colonel Rall, killing their commander, capturing 1000 prisoners, and returning successfully to the Pennsylvania side. This attack was made under the greatest difficulties. Washington had planned with two of his generals to strike the British lines at three points, but the river was so filled with ice that he was obliged to make the attempt alone with a small force, his army numbering not more than 2400. It was four o'clock in the morning before they succeeded in landing on the Jersey side.

Recrossing the river a few days later, Washington occupied Trenton (December 30). Cornwallis, who had hurried south from New York on the news of the defeat at Trenton, boasted that he would now "bag the old fox." Arriving late in the afternoon of January 2, he made an attack upon the American forces holding the bridge across the Assanpink, but failed to force a passage. He encamped opposite Washington's army, intending to attack in the morning. Washington was too prudent to risk a battle with so large a force. He therefore left his campfires burning, and under the pretense of digging earthworks to protect his forces, slipped away with most of his army to attack the force which Cornwallis had left behind at

Princeton. The fighting took place just outside the town, but in the final struggle some Hessians took refuge in old Nassau, the original building of Princeton College, barricading the doors. A cannon was brought to the scene and they soon surrendered. A cannon ball is said to have cut King George's head out of his framed picture.

Washington had won a brilliant victory. Before Cornwallis could follow him with his army, he had made his way to the heights at Morristown, where Cornwallis did not dare to follow him. Corn-

wallis retired to New Brunswick. By these defeats Washington rescued the reater part of New Jersey from the invading British forces. Only three towns remained in their hands, New Brunswick, Perth Amboy, and Paulus Hook. He now issued a proclamation requiring all those who had recently taken an oath of allegiance to the English government to either swear allegiance to the United States or to retire to the British lines. The result was the flight to New York City of many who had assisted the invaders.

Leaving his winter quarters on May 28, 1777, Washington marched to Bound Brook, only ten miles from the British headquarters at New Brunswick. There was some moving about of Howe's forces in the hope that he might persuade Washington to give battle under conditions which would be favorable to the British. Washington was not to be caught in this way, and the fighting was soon shifted to the neighborhood of Philadelphia. Howe had decided to attack the rebel capital, and



OLD NASSAU

The oldest building of Princeton College, named in honor of William of Orange, built in 1756. The Continental Congress sat here from June 30 to November 4, 1783.

now moved his forces through Rahway to Perth Amboy and from there to Staten Island, in preparation for this great stroke. In spite of the efforts of Washington, aided by troops from New Jersey, Howe occupied Philadelphia in 1777 and Washington spent the winter of 1777 and 1778 at Valley Forge.

The Battle of Monmouth. In 1778, after hearing the news of the approach of the French fleet, the British decided that it was unwise to remain in Philadelphia. Sir Henry Clinton,

who had replaced Howe, planned to lead his army back to New York across New Jersey, as there were not ships enough to take them there by water. Washington now saw his opportunity to strike a hard blow before the British could reach New York; it might even be possible to cut off a part of the army. As Clinton marched towards Monmouth Court House (Freehold) on his way to Sandy Hook, Washington sent Lee to attack him.

Lee, however, played a



OLD TENNENT CHURCH

One of the oldest churches in the state, completed in 1753. The Battle of Monmouth raged a mile and a quarter to the southeast of it on a Sunday morning and the building was probably used as a hospital for the wounded. Washington met the first Americans returning from the battle not far from the door.

traitor's part and, instead of obeying the orders he had received, began to fall back with his troops before they had really come to close quarters with the British. A terrible disaster might have been the result, had Washington not come upon the scene at this time. "What is the meaning of all this?" he shouted. "His tone was so fierce and his look so threatening that the traitor shook in his stirrups and could make no answer." Taking charge of the army, he succeeded in checking the

advancing British and saved the situation. But the opportunity for which he had so long been waiting had been lost. The British safely withdrew to Sandy Hook and from there to New York.

An interesting story is told of this battle. It was a hot sultry day. A young Irishwoman of twenty-two was bringing water from a near-by spring to her husband, who was serving one of the guns. He was instantly killed by a shot from a British gun and the order was given to remove the gun, as there was no one to serve it. His wife, hearing the order, dropped her bucket and seized the rammer, vowing she would avenge his death. She served the gun with such skill and courage throughout the battle that she was brought before Washington by General Greene. He was so pleased with her bravery that he is said to have given her a commission as sergeant and had her name placed on the pay list for life. The heroine of this incident was known as Molly Pitcher. Some say that this was not her real name, but a nickname given to her because she carried water to the wounded during the battle. This was the last important battle of the Revolution on the soil of New Jersey.

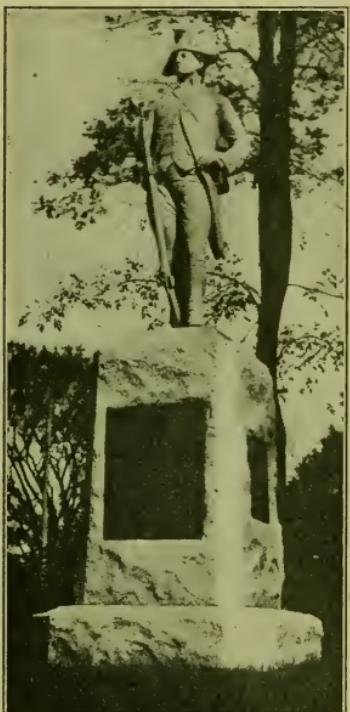
The Battles at Springfield. The flame of battle still burned in the northern part of the state because of its nearness to the British headquarters at New York. Washington spent the winter of 1779-80 at Morristown. The year 1780, made famous



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT
MORRISTOWN

A fine specimen of a colonial house, built in 1772, now fitted up as a museum. Among the other treasures to be found here is Washington's original commission as commander of the American army, signed by John Hancock.

by Arnold's treason, was one of gloom for the patriot cause, as the people of America did not realize just how much they had accomplished. Arnold's treason came as a great shock. The troops at Morristown were starving, and a mutiny broke out



MINUTE MAN, SPRINGFIELD

This monument stands just in front of the church from which Parson Caldwell is said to have carried the hymn books. The struggle was along the road in front of the church.

of Washington's troops to Pompton, in the belief that he was planning an attack upon West Point. A second time Springfield proved the turning point. The battle was fought near the church and when the militia ran out of wadding for their rifles, Parson Caldwell rushed out of the church with a load of hymn books, shouting "Put Watts into them, boys!" Westfield, Little Egg Harbor, and Toms River were also scenes of minor

on May 25th, news of which was circulated by spies at the British headquarters in New York. General von Knyphausen, who was in command, thought it an opportune time to make a dash across Jersey and secure Morristown, which was important because of its magazines. He had handbills printed encouraging treason and succeeded in distributing these among the American forces, hoping that they would surrender without a blow. But he "reckoned without his host," as they gave his troops such a warm reception at Springfield that the attempt was abandoned. The commander of the British forces fell mortally wounded by a shot from a Yankee rifleman at Elizabethtown. The attempt was repeated a little later by Sir Henry Clinton. This promised to be more serious for the Americans, as Clinton had succeeded in drawing off a part

engagements, but from this time forward the South proved to be the great battleground.

Weakness of the Articles of Confederation in New Jersey.

Before the war was over, the colonies found it necessary to plan for a stronger government than that provided by the Second Continental Congress. They had therefore drawn up the Articles of Confederation under which the colonies were governed to the close of the war. At the close of the war it was clear that if the union was to continue, something must be done to strengthen the central government. Each colony sought to lay its own taxes on commerce, and New Jersey, lying between the two great ports of New York and Philadelphia, was compared to a cask tapped at both ends. New York also became jealous of the large trade in butter, eggs, and vegetables which was carried on by Jersey merchants and made it a rule that any market boat coming from Jersey should pay entrance fees, as might be the case with ships coming from abroad. The Jersey legislature was so angry that they proceeded to tax New York \$1800 a year for the lighthouse at Sandy Hook.

This was not the only difficulty between the colonies that called for a reorganization of the government. There was a craze for paper money. The New Jersey legislature wanted to issue a half a million paper dollars, but the governor vetoed the bill. The people of Elizabethtown were so angry that threats were made to burn him in effigy. At the next session of the legislature the governor relented, but the people of the state soon found that they could not circulate this money either in New York or in Pennsylvania.

When Congress called for \$3,000,000 from the states in 1785, New Jersey refused to pay its share of \$166,716. This created such a stir at the capital that a committee of Congress was appointed to appear before the legislature in order to persuade them to consent to the payment. It was argued that such action on their part revealed the weakness of the central government and made it appear in a sorry light to the other

colonies and to the nations of Europe. New Jersey yielded, but her action at this time illustrated the attitude of most of the colonies towards the government set up by the Articles of Confederation.

New Jersey Ratifies the Constitution. It was just such problems as these which led to the calling of the Annapolis Convention. Although this convention accomplished little besides arranging for the one at Philadelphia next year, the New Jersey representatives were willing to go much farther in arranging for better relations between the colonies than were some of their sister states. At the Philadelphia meeting, remembering what they had suffered from Philadelphia and New York, the New Jersey delegates stood out for a plan of union which would give the small states a better representation in the national government. This plan was laid before the convention by a former governor, William Paterson, and was known as the New Jersey plan. It provided for the amendment of the Articles of Confederation, but failed to establish a strong central government which would secure prompt action from the states. Long and bitterly did Paterson champion his plan. Finally, the convention agreed to a compromise whereby the small states should be equally represented in the Senate. When the constitution finally came before the states for adoption, New Jersey was the third state to ratify the document. Unlike so many of the states at this time in which the struggle over ratification lasted for months, hardly a week was spent in discussing the new document.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. On an outline map show the claims of the Dutch and Swedes to New Jersey. How much larger was New Netherlands than New Jersey? How did New Sweden compare in size with New Jersey?
2. Look up Peter Stuyvesant's career as governor of New Netherlands.
3. What advantages were offered to early settlers of New Jersey? (Read Hart, "American History told by Contemporaries.")

4. Write an imaginary account of the experiences of one of the settlers arriving with Carteret.
5. Look up the story of the founding of Newark. (See Pierson's "Narratives of Newark" or Urquhart's "History of Newark.")
6. What colonies in New England had already been settled when New Jersey became an English colony? Why should New Jersey have been preferred to these.
7. How did William Penn come to be interested in America?
8. Indicate on a map the territory ruled by Andros.
9. Compare the proprietary government of New Jersey with proprietary government in the other colonies.
10. Look up the principal events of the Indian wars and note how near they came to New Jersey.
11. Compare New Jersey with Massachusetts or Virginia in her opposition to the king. What special reasons did a Jerseyman have for opposing him?
12. Look up the part taken by your community in the Revolution. How near was it to the events described here? Look for graves of revolutionary veterans in the cemeteries in your neighborhood or monuments erected in their honor with the inscriptions upon them. Write the story of its part in the Revolution, using this material.
13. How did New Jersey illustrate the need for a stronger government than the Articles of Confederation provided? Compare her needs with those of other colonies.

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NEW JERSEY BETWEEN 1789 AND THE CIVIL WAR:
A STATE IN THE MAKING

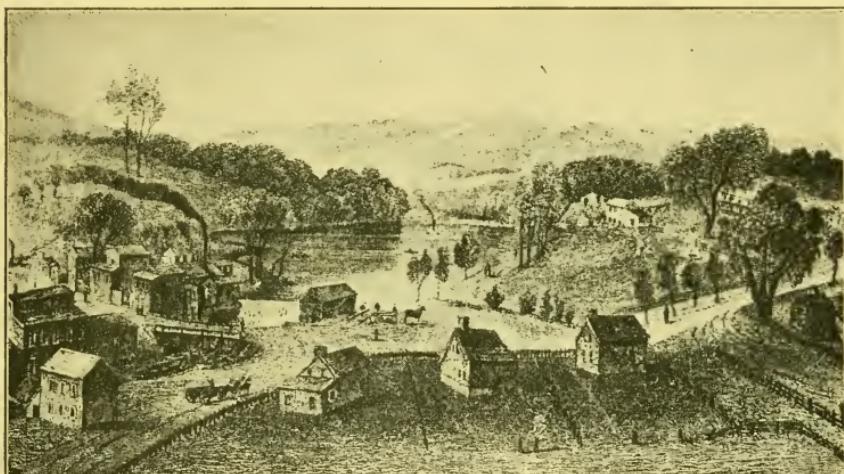
New Jersey in Washington's Time. When the new government went into operation in 1789, with Washington as its first president, New Jersey continued to be governed by the constitution which had been drawn up at the time of the break with England. Only property owners were allowed to take part in the government, but this arrangement was no different from that which was to be found in other states. Washington himself came of an aristocratic family, and in those days no one thought it strange that the working classes should be denied a share in managing their affairs.

The constitution had been drawn up in such a hurry that for a long time women had the same right to vote as men, as the constitution did not specify that the right to vote should be restricted to the male property owners. Burlington was the capital of the state until 1790, when Trenton became the seat of government.

Many of the people of the higher classes lived like Southern planters on large estates. In some cases they kept negro slaves. In colonial times from eight to ten per cent of the population were slaves. Soon after New Jersey was reunited, in 1702, slaves were introduced into the colony in great numbers as a result of the interest of one of the governors in the Royal African Company, which was organized to bring them from Africa. These were more numerous in the eastern part of the state. In this section considerable trade was carried on, and Perth Amboy was gradually becoming an important seaport. There was also trade with New York City and Philadelphia, but this was mainly in farm products. By 1800 this part of the state was turning out large quantities of flour from the mills and was producing cider, leather, and lumber.

The people in the western part of New Jersey lived mainly

by agriculture, raising large quantities of wheat, horses, and sheep. Even in colonial times glass making was carried on in South Jersey. Iron and copper also were mined and made into bars. As early as 1685 there were iron mills in Monmouth County; these were the property of Lewis Morris. In 1750 Morris and Warren counties were the centers of this industry.



SPEEDWELL IRON WORKS

Located near Morristown and one of the earliest and most famous manufacturing enterprises in the state. The engine of the *Savannah*, the first steamship to cross the Atlantic (1819), was built here, as were also parts of the first American locomotive and the first cast-iron plow.

The people had to depend largely upon ferries and post roads to transport their goods.

In 1791 there were six post offices in the state located at Newark, Elizabethtown, Bridgeton (now Rahway), New Brunswick, and Trenton. The state was divided into thirteen counties with a mixed population in 1800 of about 200,000. This was one twenty-sixth of the entire population of the United States at that time. The northern part of the state and the portion near Philadelphia were most densely populated. Attention had already been directed to education, and two of the oldest colleges in the country were located in New Jersey,

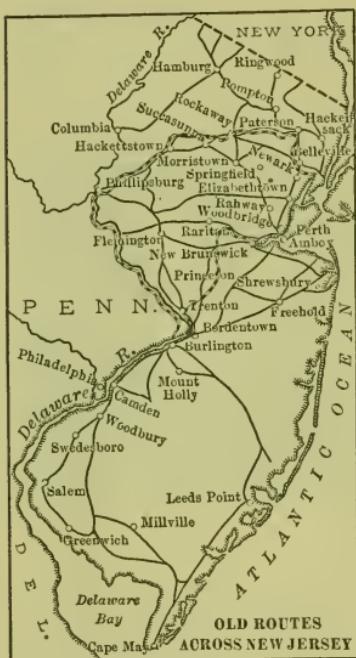
Princeton, originally called the College of New Jersey, founded in 1746, and Rutgers, known as Queen's College, founded in 1770.

Party Strife. The Methodist revival under Whitfield about 1740 had won many converts, and these were now counted among the most enthusiastic supporters of the interests of the

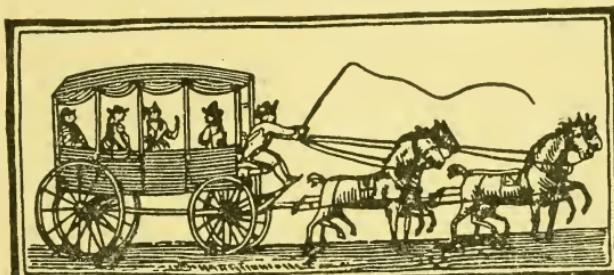
people. The state took an active part in the struggle between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, later known as Republicans. In 1789 New Jersey was a stronghold of the Federalist party, as was shown by the readiness with which the state ratified the constitution. As time passed, however, the Republican party gradually grew in power and they succeeded in 1801 in electing their first governor, Joseph Bloomfield. The death of Hamilton at the hands of Aaron Burr at Weehawken, and the loss of William Livingston, the first governor of the state and a prominent Federalist, did much to weaken the party in the state. Only the extreme north-

ern and southern portions supported Jefferson in 1800; the electoral vote went to Adams.

The War of 1812 and the Transportation Question. The people of the state had not interested themselves in the building of ships, and New Jersey therefore had little to lose by English and French interference with American shipping during the struggle between Europe and Napoleon. It was opposed to declaring war against England in 1812, and, when war actually broke out, was very much concerned over the defenselessness of its coast. As the natural highway between New York and



Philadelphia, it was exposed, with its neighbors north and south, to the danger of an attack from the sea. The state had already taken steps to improve the highways which connected these two great cities. This new danger aroused them to renewed efforts. One of the earlier routes by road between Philadelphia and New York brought the traveler first to Burlington or Bordentown, then to Paulus Hook, and from here



Newark Stage for New-York.

A FOUR HORSE STAGE will leave Archer Gifford's, in Newark, every morning (except Sunday) at half past five o'clock, and will leave Powles Hook at 5 o'clock in the afternoon for Newark—This arrangement gives time for doing business in the city, and the coolest hours for travelling. Passengers choosing this conveyance may apply for seats to JOHN BOND at A. Gifford's.

Itf

J. N. Cumming.

AN EARLY STAGECOACH ADVERTISEMENT¹

Note the route covered by this stage and the equipment used.

he crossed to the New York side. It meant at least a day's journey, at a cost of something like six dollars a trip. By 1804 a turnpike was built from Trenton to New Brunswick. Later, in 1809, the route was changed somewhat as the result of the introduction of the steamboat. The Union line of wagons and

¹ From *A Brief History of New Jersey*. Copyright 1910 by Edward S. Ellis and Henry Snyder, American Book Company, publishers.

stages made the trip first by steamboat from Philadelphia to Trenton, then by wagon or stage along the Trenton-New Brunswick turnpike, and finally by water down the Raritan to New York. After the war the legislature showed its great interest in road building by granting permission to several companies to construct roads.

As to New Jersey's actual part in the war, her militia responded readily to the call of Governor Bloomfield in 1812 for 5000 troops and again to Governor Pennington's request for 5000 in 1814. Some of these were on duty at Paulus Hook and at Sandy Hook but saw no real service. Two of her citizens became famous in the sea fighting of the time, William Bainbridge of Princeton, who commanded the *Constitution* when she captured the *Java*, and James Lawrence of the *Chesapeake*, who is best remembered for his dying cry as he was carried below, "Don't give up the ship."

The Canal and the Steamboat. In the period of our history when the national government was interesting itself in such internal improvements as the Cumberland Road and the Erie Canal, New Jersey was developing every means of communication which seemed to promise to advance the trade and industry of the state. In 1824 the Morris Canal was built between Easton and Newark. In 1830 the first boat passed through Newark. This was considered a great engineering triumph, particularly the inclined plane by which boats were brought down into the city from the hilly ground to the west of it. In 1830 the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company was launched with \$1,000,000 of capital. As far back as 1804 a canal had been planned connecting the two rivers and the route located. Twelve years later the governor made a strong appeal for action, but it was not until 1838 that the canal was ready for use.

In the early days of the steamboat when John Fitch was experimenting with steam, the legislature had granted him the sole right to navigate the streams of the state for fourteen

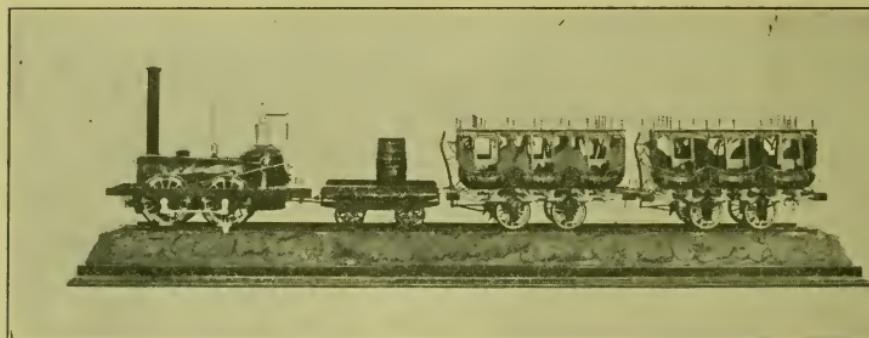
years. One of his steamboats actually sailed the Delaware, making a speed of seven miles an hour. Fitch, however, did not succeed in making the enterprise pay. The liberality of the state in granting him such a valuable right is but another illustration of how important the people regarded the development of the proper means of communication within their borders. In 1803 Colonel John Stevens of Hoboken operated a small boat propelled by steam on the Passaic.

Finally in 1809 steamboats began to ply regularly on the Raritan and Delaware Rivers. One of these, the *Phoenix*, was built by John Stevens in 1806 and was used between New Brunswick and New York. A monopoly was held by the famous inventor Fulton and one of the Livingstons, which gave this concern the sole right to the use of the Hudson and New York Bay. This interfered seriously with the business of the *Phoenix* and other boats. In 1809 there were regular steamboat sailings on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at seven A.M. between Philadelphia and New York. Bordentown was reached at one; then the journey was continued by stage to New Brunswick, where the traveler spent the night, to continue his journey at six o'clock the next morning by steamboat to New York. By 1810 the journey was made in twenty-six hours and the fare was five dollars.

The First Railroad. When the railroad appeared, New Jersey was immediately interested. As early as 1815 permission had been granted to a company to erect a railroad from the Delaware near Trenton to the Raritan at or near New Brunswick. This was before the days of the locomotive, and it is not clear therefore what kind of a railroad the company proposed to build, as their plans were never carried out. When the locomotive proved its usefulness, enterprising people in the state planned for a railroad between Camden and Amboy. This was in 1830, and in 1832 the first section was built and operated between Bordentown and Hightstown. Robert Stevens was sent to England to secure the locomotive and rails for the

new road, and during his journey "produced or perfected the American or Stevens rail." The locomotive known as "John Bull" was shipped in parts, and it fell to the lot of an American mechanic, who had never seen one in operation, to assemble these.

The first railroad train presented a curious picture. "A tender had been made from a converted four-wheel flat car,



FIRST NEW JERSEY RAILROAD TRAIN

Note the stage bodies on carriage trucks. This train was operated for the first time November 12, 1831.

the tank being a large whisky barrel and the supply of water conveyed to the boiler by short sections of leather hose. Attached to the locomotive were two four-wheeled coaches, built to be drawn by horses, if need should arise. These coaches were practically carriage bodies, three doors to a side."

By 1834 a line of railroad across the state had been completed between Camden and Perth Amboy. Four years later a parallel line was built from New Brunswick to Jersey City and from New Brunswick to Bordentown. The Camden-Amboy shops for the manufacture of locomotives were soon opened at Hoboken. These supplied the models for the building of "Old Ironsides" by Mathias Baldwin, the founder of the great Baldwin Locomotive works at Philadelphia.

The Morris and Essex Railroad (now a part of the Lackawanna system) was chartered in 1835 and began operations

the following year between Orange and Newark. By 1838 it had been extended to Morristown and carried both passengers and freight. The freight car was about "25 feet in length, resembling a modern flat car, but devoid of side boards or stakes."

Manufacturing. One immediate effect of the War of 1812 which was felt in New Jersey, as in other parts of the country, was the impulse given to manufacturing. In the town of Newark, for example, there were eighty-two distilleries producing each year 300,000 gallons of "Jersey Lightning" as it was called. There were 763 looms in operation and 9900 spindles. Besides these industries the town could boast of ten paper mills, three naileries, seventeen bloomeries, and twenty-six carding machines.

One of the noted inventors of this period was Seth Boyden, who came to Newark from Massachusetts about 1815. He produced a machine for making wrought nails, another for cutting files and brads, and still another for cutting and heading tacks. He was also a builder of locomotives. The patent leather industry owes its beginnings to his inventive brain; and he was among the first to manufacture malleable iron, daguerreotypes, and steam machinery. He assisted Professor Morse in perfecting the electric telegraph.

Several factories appeared in the state for the making of glass, paper, and cloth. In the late thirties "the silkworm craze" seized the people. This was a form of speculation, or "get-rich-quick" scheme, which was very popular for a time.



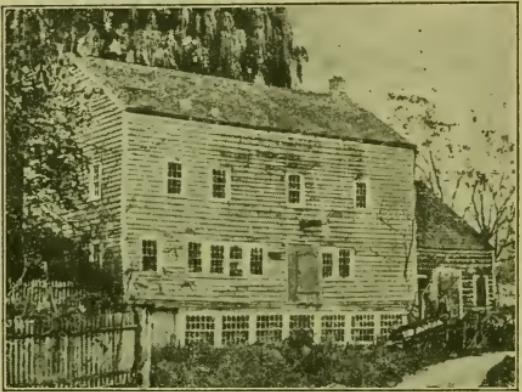
SETH BOYDEN

Statue erected in his honor in Newark. The sculptor has represented him in his leather apron with shirt sleeves rolled up, standing at his anvil. In spite of his many inventions he continued to work for wages until too old to work.

The state agreed to pay a bounty of fifteen cents for every pound of cocoons, and by 1838, 200,000 mulberry trees had been planted. One tenth of these were in the neighborhood of Burlington. Silk companies were organized, but as the people

were more intent upon planting trees than producing silk worms the bubble soon burst.

The panic of 1837 fell with great force upon New Jersey. All sorts of wild schemes had been taken up by the people in the wave of speculation which swept the country at this time. The silk worm craze was an illustration of this. The people of New Jersey did not begin to manufacture on an extensive scale until the state had recovered somewhat from these "lean" years.

 THE HOME OF THE TELEGRAPH

With the assistance of Alfred Vail the first successful experiments were carried on in this building of the Speedwell Iron Works on January 6, 1838. This same month a public demonstration was given at the University of the City of New York. Alfred Vail was the son of the proprietor of the works, and his father advanced money at his suggestion to help the inventor.

The Democratic Revolution and the New Constitution. Between 1830 and 1840 a democratic revolution began to sweep the country. Andrew Jackson placed himself at the head of a party which represented the interests of the common man, and his election in 1832 was proof that the days of aristocracy were numbered. New Jersey again was divided, as in the early days of the struggle between Federalist and Anti-Federalist. The old aristocratic constitution under which the people had been governed had to be abandoned. In 1843 Governor Haines, recognizing the justice of the claims of the people for a better representation in the government, called a convention to prepare a new constitution. This met the following

year and drew up the present constitution, which was soon ratified.

The new constitution provided for three important changes, all in the interests of the people. Property qualifications for voting and holding office were abolished. The vote was given to all male citizens of twenty-one years of age or over, with certain residence qualifications. The people could now elect the governor, the choice of whom had formerly rested in the hands of the legislature. A third change abolished most of the power which up to that time had been exercised by the governor's council. It was no longer important as the highest court in the state, or as an appointing body.

Dorothea Dix and the Prison Reform Movement. The same reform movement which conferred political rights upon the people by changing the constitution also showed itself in efforts to better the condition of such unfortunates as paupers, idiots, and the insane. Miss Dorothea Dix set out to make a thorough investigation of the jails, poorhouses, and prisons, and the people were shocked at the conditions she found in these. This was before the days when a scientific study had been made of insanity and special institutions established for its treatment. The poorhouses were crowded with these unfortunates, who were either sadly neglected or brutally treated. One of these had been insane for thirty years and had been out of his apartment "but ten times in more than nineteen years"; another was chained by the leg in a little cell which was heated only by a small stove pipe passing through a corner of the room. The pauper insane of Burlington County were kept in "dreary confined cells, insufficiently lighted, insufficiently warmed, and pervaded with foul air to an intolerable degree."

The arrangements made for the poor were often a disgrace to the community. The rooms were usually loathsome places, hardly fit for wild beasts. The jails were little better, crowded as they were in many cases with offenders of both sexes, of all ages and nationalities. The jail was too often, as Miss Dix

puts it, "the primary school and the normal school for the state prison." Miss Dix's championship of the cause of these unfortunate classes was rewarded by the erection in 1846 of the first state institution for the insane and a general improvement of the jails and poorhouses.

In 1851 the hours of employment for children were limited and it was forbidden to employ any child under ten. Orphan asylums were established in many places. Temperance societies were very popular between 1840 and 1845, especially in the western part of the state, where the Quakers were numerous. These were organized as lodges and offered certain privileges to their members.

The Slavery Question and the Mexican War. A greater reform movement than any of those just described was gradually taking shape in the country. This was the movement that led finally, after a bitter struggle, to the abolition of African slavery. In 1800 New Jersey had a larger slave population than any other state north of Maryland except New York. As early as 1804, however, the legislature had arranged for their gradual abolition and their number declined until in 1840 there were only 674 in the entire state. In 1850 there were still 236 negroes held in bondage, but they were really apprentices serving a longer term of years than was the case with the ordinary apprentice. The abolition movement made some progress in the state, especially among the Quakers. At one of their meetings held in Philadelphia in 1776, they passed a resolution proposing to "deny the right of membership to such as persisted in holding their fellowmen as property." A few abolition societies were to be found among the Quakers and a few in the neighborhood of New York, but the sentiment in favor of abolition in New Jersey was not at all strong as compared with New York and New England.

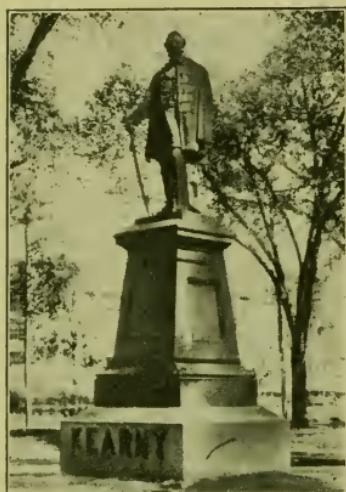
Opposition to the slave trade had brought this bad business to an end as early as 1785; laws were passed later enforcing this earlier measure. In 1820 the legislature passed resolutions

against the admission of Missouri as a slave state. A few years later resolutions were passed approving some kind of a colonization scheme as a means of settling the slavery question. These resolutions were sent to the governors of the other states and to the representatives of the state in Congress.

It was the extension of slavery into new territory rather than the moral question which divided the country between 1840 and 1860. At the time of the outbreak of the Mexican War this question of the extension of slavery had become one of the great questions pressing for a solution. This war was specially favored by the Southern planters and slaveholders. New Jersey was called upon to furnish one volunteer regiment. The legislature of 1847 showed its hearty support of the war by passing resolutions praising General Taylor and authorizing the governor to present swords to four New Jersey officers who were serving under him. Troops raised in the state reached Mexico in time to join in the triumphant advance of General Scott from Vera Cruz to Mexico City. While the struggle was still on the legislature passed a resolution requesting their representatives in Congress to use their best efforts to secure the exclusion of slavery from any territory which might be annexed to the United States. The year after the war they again showed their attitude on the slavery question by condemning any further extension of the system and urging the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

New Jersey and the Struggle between North and South. In the great campaign of 1860, there seemed to be a division of sentiment in New Jersey on the great question of the hour. The contest here was between Douglas and Lincoln and the campaign was an exciting one, marked by parades and fiery speech-making. So close was the result that the electoral vote of the state was divided, four going to Lincoln and three to Douglas. When a peace convention was called in 1861, before the close of Buchanan's term, to devise means for patching up the differences between the North and the South-

ern Confederacy, New Jersey took an active part, sending delegates and urging the acceptance of proposals which would have yielded somewhat to the demands of the South.



GENERAL PHILIP KEARNY

Probably the best known New Jersey fighter. Statue erected by the city of Newark.

Showed himself so anxious to cooperate with the national government that President Lincoln warmly thanked him for his services in preserving the Union.

The best known of the New Jersey fighters was General Philip Kearny, who had seen service in the Mexican War and was killed in the Battle of Chantilly. A story is told of him which illustrates the spirit of the Jersey troops. He had been asked to undertake a difficult and dangerous enterprise and was given the privilege of selecting his men. When he was asked what troops he preferred, his reply was, "Give me Jersey-men, *they never flinch!*"

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Compare the occupations of the people in the United States in Washington's time with the occupations of the people of New Jersey.

2. Point out the advantages of living in New Jersey at this time as compared with other states.
3. Locate the places and sections mentioned as important at this time.
4. Look up the principles represented by the Federalists and the Republicans. If you had lived in New Jersey at the time, which party would you have supported and why?
5. As a Jerseyman would you have been in favor of the War of 1812? Why?
6. Describe an imaginary journey from New York to Philadelphia about 1812, naming the places you would pass through and the interesting things you would see.
7. Describe the first steamboat and an imaginary trip with John Fitch.
8. Locate the line of the first railroad and describe an imaginary trip between two important points upon it.
9. Explain why Andrew Jackson's election marked the beginning of a democratic revolution, and why one was needed in New Jersey.
10. Would you class New Jersey as a free or slave state in 1850? Why?
11. Make inquiries as to the part taken by your community in the Civil War. Look for graves of veterans with inscriptions. Possibly there is a monument in memory of the boys who enlisted. Look up the battles in which they took part. Write the story of their part in the War.

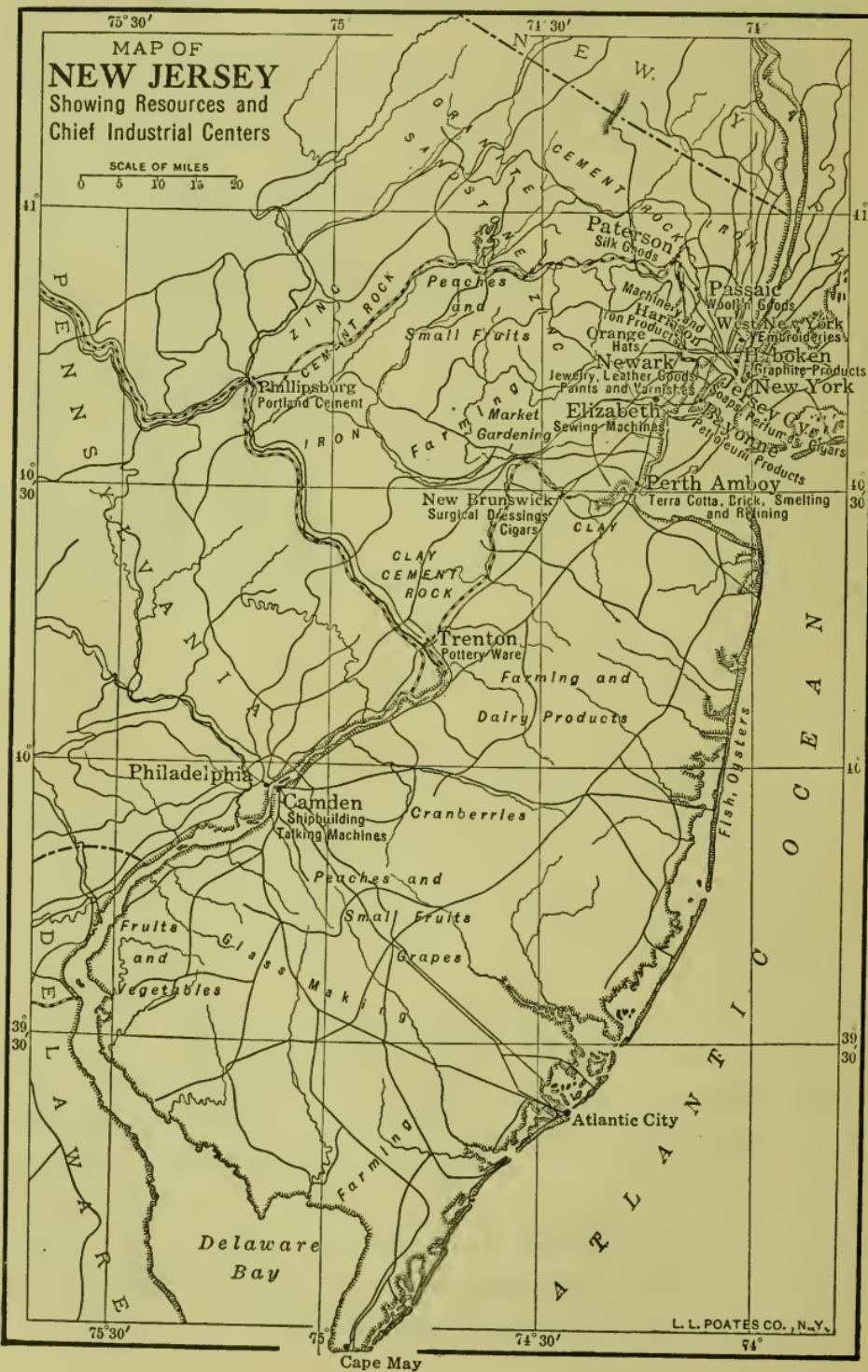
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NEW JERSEY SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

The State as a Business and Manufacturing Center. The period that followed the close of the war, with the exception of the crisis of 1873, was one of great prosperity for the country at large and for New Jersey in particular. New Jersey soon became one of the leading manufacturing states in the entire country. In 1910 the output of her factories was reckoned at

¹ Recommended only for teachers.



\$1,000,000,000. Only four states excelled her in the value of their manufactured products. These included silk goods (in which the state is an acknowledged leader), foundry products, refined petroleum, copper, iron and steel, pottery, chemicals, leather, malt liquors, rubber, and cotton and woolen goods.

Encouragement was given to railroad building, especially after 1873, and the state is now covered with a network of about 2500 miles of railroads. These form parts of at least four great systems: the Pennsylvania; the Delaware, Lackawanna, & Western; the Lehigh Valley; and the Jersey Central.

The development of manufacturing also directed attention to the use of waterways for carrying goods. The rapid growth of New York City had made the Jersey side of New York Bay, with the territory lying behind it, a great shipping center. The possibilities of Newark Bay as a port have been discussed, and it is very likely that it will be used to relieve the heavy traffic now carried on from the piers on the New York side. When President Roosevelt directed the attention of the country to the conservation of its resources and the greater use of its inland waterways, a plan was formed for the construction of a great ship canal across the state from Trenton to Raritan Bay. This was to be one link in a great inside waterway from Boston along the Atlantic Coast to Florida. A beginning was made for carrying out the scheme when the Cape Cod Canal,



THOMAS A. EDISON

Since he built his laboratory at Orange in 1886 the great inventor has been closely connected with the industrial development of the state. The kinetophonograph and the nickel iron storage cell have been perfected since he moved to New Jersey.

connecting Massachusetts Bay with Long Island Sound, was opened in 1914. The New Jersey coast for many years past had been looked upon by mariners as particularly dangerous, and the state very early interested itself in establishing life-saving stations at different points. The ship canal will make it unnecessary for ships sailing along the coast to run the risk of shipwreck in the shallow waters off New Jersey.

New Jersey has been linked much more closely to New York by the building of the McAdoo or Hudson tunnels under the Hudson River. A tunnel for vehicles of all kinds has been proposed and will probably be the next step in binding the two states together.

Trusts in New Jersey. The earliest form of trust was the Standard Oil Company, which was first organized in Ohio. When this was declared illegal, it broke up into several companies. One of these was the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. The laws of the state were so favorable to companies that sought to control various lines of business that New Jersey soon came to be looked upon as the home of the trust. All sorts of corporations were formed within its limits. Perhaps the largest of these is the United States Steel Corporation. Some of these became powerful trusts and figured prominently in the struggle between the national government and big business in the years when Roosevelt and Taft were in office at Washington. The very fact that New Jersey is so near to New York and Philadelphia makes it naturally a center for big business enterprises, not only with branches in these great cities but throughout the whole country.

The Reform Movement of the Twentieth Century. Up to about 1905 New Jersey had the reputation of being one of the slowest states to adopt any kind of reform measures. The people clung to their old ways of doing things long after other states had abandoned them altogether. They believed, for example, that the government should have as little as possible to do with business carried on in the state, but should allow it

to develop freely and without interference. The laws of the state were decidedly favorable to business and rather neglectful of the working classes and the common people. The government was even accused of being entirely in the hands of the business interests.

A few public-spirited men began to work to bring about a change. They did their work so well that when Mr. Woodrow Wilson was elected governor in 1909 after a bitter fight, he was able to secure the passing of some much-needed laws. These placed New Jersey among the progressive states of the union.

Reforms provided by the New Laws. The old corrupt method of nominating candidates for office in caucuses and conventions, under the eye of bosses, was abandoned and in its place came the direct primary, as it was called. The voter was able to express his choice for office without fear of the consequences of his act. Those running for office were obliged to keep an accurate account of what they spent and were not allowed to spend their own or other people's money freely to carry an election. A new form of secret ballot was introduced which also tended to do away with political corruption.

The powerful corporations which supplied the public with such necessary things as light, gas, and water, and the railroads upon whom the people were so dependent for cheap and satisfactory service, were placed under the supervision of a group of men known as a Public Utilities Commission, with power to fix the rates and fares charged, and in general to see that the public was not imposed upon in any way.

A law known as the Seven Sisters' Act, because it was really made up of seven closely related measures, helped to drive trusts from the state and to force big business enterprises to consider the interests of the common people. This measure served as a pattern for Mr. Wilson's legislation against the trusts when he became President.

Laborers were protected in their work against loss of life or limb by laws compelling all employers to pay them for injuries;

or to make it easier for their families by payments of money in case of death by accident. Pensions were to be paid out of the state funds to widows who were left with children dependent upon them. Children were protected while they were young against the evils of the factory.

Interest in Education. At this time changes were made in the state school system. Education was one of the matters in which the people of the state had always taken great interest. The example had been set by both the Dutch and Puritan settlers of New Jersey. The first record of a school in New Jersey was one in Bergen in 1662. Woodbridge appointed a school-master in 1669, and in 1676 Newark chose John Catlin to be the instructor of her children. From the very beginning the Quakers, or Society of Friends, provided for the education of their children. In 1682 the assembly at Burlington set apart the revenues from the island of Matinicunk in the Delaware for the support of a school. The legislature in East Jersey in 1693 passed a law which made it possible for the people in their town elections to select three citizens to hire teachers and fix their salaries.

The beginnings of the present system of free public schools dates back to 1817. When the second constitution was drawn up in 1844, it made liberal provisions for educating the children of the state, insisting that all children "between the ages of five and eighteen years" should have an education at the public expense. State money was set aside as a permanent fund for this purpose; only the interest was to be used to provide schools. This fund has been added to from time to time until it now amounts to \$4,000,000. Money is also provided generously by taxation, and the schools of the state are now among the best in the country. Normal schools have been established, and Rutgers College has been made the state college for the teaching of agriculture and the mechanic arts. Free scholarships in this college are offered by the state to students interested in carrying their education beyond the high school grade.

A college for women was opened in the fall of 1918 in connection with Rutgers College.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Consult the map showing the resources of New Jersey. How have they helped develop certain parts of the state? Your own community? What has the state or the United States done to develop these?
2. What other states are rivals of New Jersey in manufacturing? How does she rank?
3. Note the routes of the railroads mentioned. How have they affected the growth of the state? What other roads serve the state?
4. Compare the changes which followed Mr. Wilson's election as governor with those which followed the election of Governor Haines as to their importance.
5. Define a "boss." Look up the power of the "boss" in other parts of the United States (Tweed for example).
6. Compare the efforts to handle trusts in the United States with similar efforts in New Jersey.
7. Who was the national "trust-buster"? the state "trust buster"?
8. How would you have felt about these changes if you had been engaged in business at the time? How much would your particular locality be interested in these changes?
9. In how many different ways is New Jersey trying to educate its citizens?

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THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND DUTIES OF CITIZENSHIP IN NEW JERSEY

The People of New Jersey. The responsibility for making New Jersey "safe for democracy" and a worthy representative of all that is best in American life rests with the people who live within its borders. The population of the state in 1915

¹ Recommended especially for use of teachers.

was 2,844,342. One million of these people live in the two northern counties of Essex and Hudson. Many of these are engaged in business in New York City and simply eat and sleep on the Jersey side. A considerable proportion of the population are foreigners, or the children of foreign-born parents. It is estimated that there are about half a million voters in the state. As has already been indicated, New Jersey laws have tried to make it possible for the people of the state to control their own affairs and rid themselves of bosses and other bad influences in politics.

The Constitution and its Amendment. The main outlines of the government of the state are to be found in the constitution which was drawn up almost three quarters of a century ago (see page 30). Representatives of the people at that time came together and laid down the framework of the government and, when they had completed their work, placed it before the voters for their approval. Although it went into effect so many years ago, it has proved fairly satisfactory, although many people are now of the opinion that it should be thoroughly overhauled or revised by a convention selected by the voters for this purpose. Every effort to do this thus far has failed. The voters have been satisfied to change it by amendment.

This method of changing the constitution is somewhat complicated and requires considerable time. An amendment must be proposed by the legislature. After it has been approved by the majority vote of two successive legislatures and published for a certain length of time, so that the people can become thoroughly familiar with it, it is placed before them at an election for approval or disapproval. If a majority agree to it, it becomes a part of the constitution. There is another requirement, however, which makes it possible to place these amendments before the people only at intervals of five years. Every five years the voters may be asked to pass judgment upon a single amendment or possibly a whole batch of amend-

ments. The difficulty of really changing the constitution is shown by the fact that it has been amended only twice since it was adopted, once in 1875 and again in 1897. Commissions were appointed to recommend changes to the legislature, and provisions forbidding gambling within the state and restricting the power of the legislature were added. The present system of taxing the people was also established by this means.

Taking Part in the Government. The right to take an active part in the management of its affairs has been conferred upon all male citizens twenty-one years of age or over who have lived in the state at least one year and in the county at least five months next preceding the election in which they wish to cast a vote. In order to vote the person who is qualified must first register, that is, he must report at the place where the election is to be held at a certain time and give the persons in charge his name and other information which the law requires. This is in order that no one may vote who is not really entitled to do so.

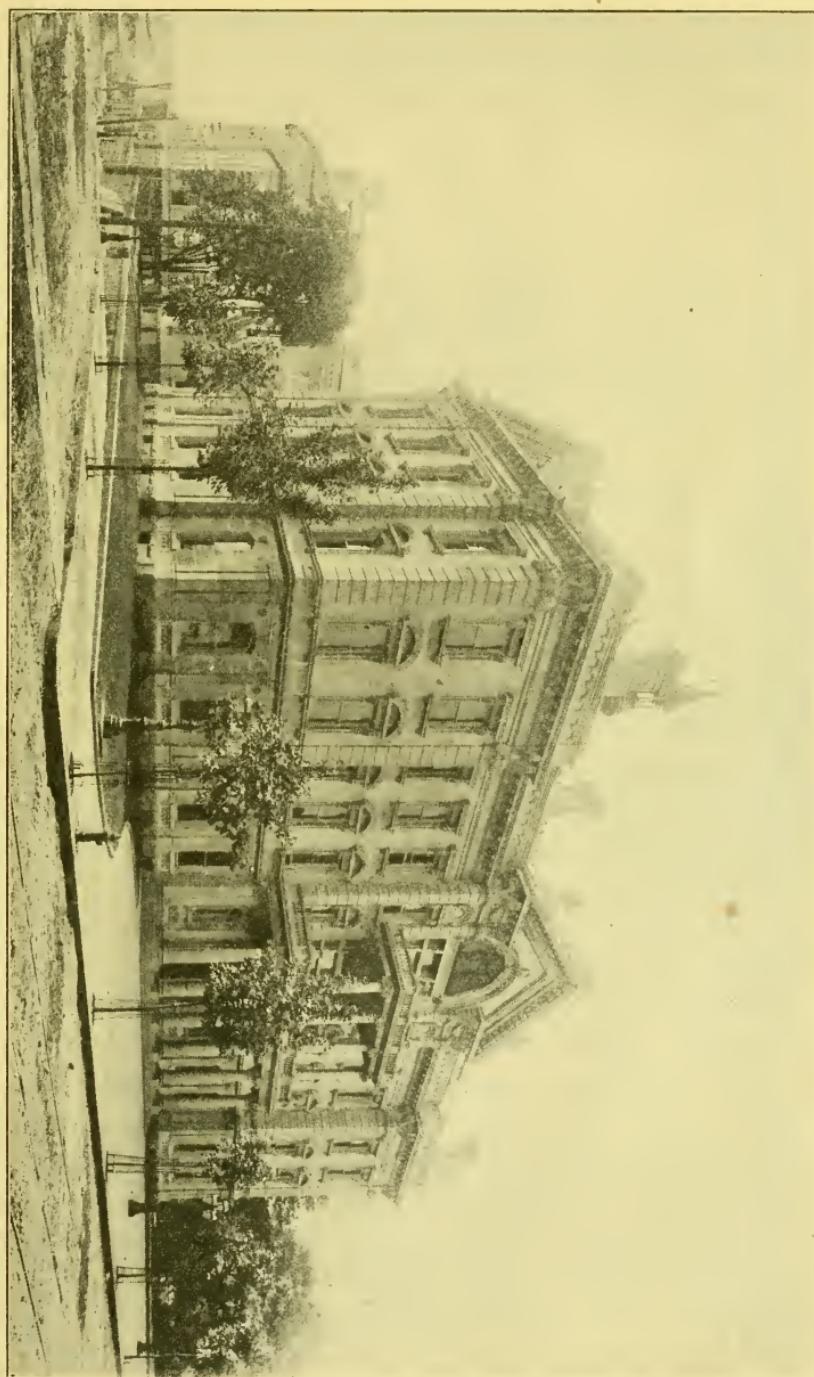
Every voter has the right not only to vote for those who are to fill the various offices, but he may also nominate men to run for office. He can even nominate the men who run for governor or United States Senator. This very often means much more to him than making a selection among the candidates.

An election for the purpose of nominating men to fill offices is called a primary. These are usually held about one month before the regular election. When the voter appears at the primary, he is asked the party to which he belongs and is then given a ballot on which appear the names of all the men from that particular party who wish to be nominated. He retires to a booth and there makes a cross opposite the names of those he prefers. Each party has its own ballot box for these votes. A person who wishes to have his name printed on the ballot as a candidate for the nomination must secure beforehand a certain number of names to a petition requesting this. The voter

makes his final selection for all the important state positions at the regular election, which occurs on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. In cases where local offices are to be filled the elections are sometimes held at other times. The state is divided into districts, and there is a polling or voting place set aside in each district for the voters who live there. The election is in charge of officers selected for that purpose. They have charge of registration and every detail of the election. The voter is handed a single ballot. This contains the names of all the candidates of the different parties for the positions to be filled. The names are usually arranged in some order under the office to be filled. After each name appears the name of the party which the person represents. The voter retires to a booth and makes a cross opposite the name of the person of his choice. He then hands it to an election officer, who places it in a ballot box.

The votes are counted by the election officers when the election is over, the person receiving the highest number (or plurality) being declared elected. Votes are often recounted, or "canvassed," as it is called, by other officers in order that there may be no question of who has been really chosen.

The law inflicts heavy penalties upon those who try to vote more than once or who encourage others to cheat or engage in unfair practices at any election. Reference has been made to this on page 460. So strict is the law that an employer cannot inclose the pay check of his men in envelopes which have printed or written upon them the names of any candidate or any political motto or any device used by a political party to influence their vote. Big business organizations cannot contribute by name to the expenses of a campaign. Each candidate can only spend so much on his nomination and election. This amount depends upon the office which he seeks. For example, a candidate for the governorship is limited to \$2500 in securing the nomination at the primary, and the same amount in the campaign for his election. In trying to secure a municipal



STATE CAPITOL AT TRENTON

office \$250 is allowed in each case, but the expense must not exceed twenty-five per cent of a year's salary.

Law-making. The state form of government is very similar to that of other states. Laws are made by a legislature which consists of two houses. The upper house, or Senate, contains twenty-one members, one for each county. They are elected each year. The lower house, or assembly, is based upon population. There can never be more than sixty members, and every county must choose at least one. The number elected in each county is changed as the population grows and makes these changes necessary. The two houses do not differ very much as to what they can do.

The legislature meets once a year, the second Tuesday in January. It makes many of the laws which come close home to the people, as, for example, those having to do with education, taxation, the regulating of business, and the care of the poor and of the unfortunate. In general it tries to make the state a pleasant place in which to live.

The state constitution and that of the United States place certain restrictions upon its powers to make laws, but these are all in the interests of the people at large, preventing in many cases one individual from taking advantage of another. Other restrictions have to do with the spending of the people's money. The state cannot be burdened with a heavy debt without the consent of the voters. This means that in case the legislature wishes to spend a large amount of money, as for example on a system of roads, the law must be submitted to the voters for their approval. Special laws cannot be passed to assist or favor some one person or locality. All laws must apply equally to all communities of the same kind. No one person or community can be singled out for legislative favors.

The process of law-making is very similar to that in Congress. Each house has committees to which bills are first referred for consideration. When a committee reports favorably upon a measure, it is then discussed and voted upon in that house.

If it secures a majority vote it is turned over to the other house, where it goes through the same process. If both houses vote favorably upon it, it is submitted to the governor for his approval.

The State Officers and Their Duties. The carrying out of the state laws is largely in the hands of the governor. He is chosen by the voters for three years and cannot be re-elected to succeed himself. This is because so much power rests in his hands. He appoints many of the state officers who are responsible for the laws being put into effect. Probably his most important duty is to pass upon bills which the legislature may see fit to approve. His signature is necessary in order that the bill may become a law. If he does not approve it, the bill must be passed again by a majority vote of both houses. If by any chance he keeps a bill for five days (Sundays excepted) and the legislature is still in session, it becomes a law without his signature. The governor, like the President, has some influence over law-making by his power to lay before the legislature when it assembles his suggestions as to what subjects ought to be taken up. These suggestions are known as his "message." If he is really the leader of his party, these will be acted upon, and new laws or changes in the old laws will be the result. He may also call special sessions of the legislature.

Among the officers appointed by the governor are an attorney general, who gives his opinion as to the meaning of laws; a commissioner of banking and insurance, who has general oversight of all banking and insurance companies which do business in the state; a commissioner of charities and corrections who is in charge of the prisons and such homes, hospitals, and the like as have been opened for the care of the insane, epileptics, and other unfortunates; the commissioner of labor, who collects such information as has to do with the workers of the state; and a state board of education with general charge of the school system throughout the state.

Administering Justice. The state government provides a complete system of courts for the trial of cases which have to do with state laws. There are courts which take care of suits for the recovery of damages or for the enforcing of agreements; other courts try persons accused of crime and fix penalties in case they are judged guilty. The majority of all the crimes committed within the state are against state law and have nothing to do with the United States, such, for example, as robbery and murder. If the United States mail is robbed, then state courts would have nothing to do with it, as the carrying of the mail is something entirely within the control of the United States. The lowest court is a justice's court or a city court; the highest is the Court of Errors and Appeals. Between these there is a complicated system of courts which provide for all sorts of cases and allow of appeals from one court to a higher judge or group of judges. The judges of most of these courts are appointed, which makes them independent of politics and therefore more likely to give fair and impartial decisions. Special courts exist for cases having to do with property left by persons at death; other special courts known as Chancery Courts look after the enforcement of contracts or agreements. New Jersey justice has a reputation for being quickly administered. Those who appeal to the courts for justice are spared the long and expensive delays that are so common in the trial of cases in the courts of the states.

Some idea has already been given of what the state does for its citizens by means of this machinery. The services performed by these courts, these executive officers and the state legislature, are the real test of the effectiveness of the state government.

What the State Does for its Citizens

The very first article of the constitution points out that it is the business of the state government to protect individual rights, such as the security of the person against injury, the

right to the property which he may own, and the right to come and go as he pleases so long as he does not interfere seriously with the rights of others. The large population of the crowded cities and suburban districts makes it necessary for the citizens of the state to exercise a spirit of coöperation; to work together for the interests of the whole community. Many of the things which the state does would be impossible without the joining together of the whole body of citizens in the enterprise. Much of the work of the state therefore has to do with providing a large and densely peopled community with those things necessary for their welfare and happiness which could not be secured by individuals alone, or would be difficult to secure because of the expense and labor involved.

Public School System. Our public school system is an illustration. The money has been provided by the people of the state and they have created a State Board of Education to look after the whole state system of schools. This board appoints a Commissioner of Education who selects four assistant commissioners to see that such schools as high schools and grammar schools, special schools, such as vocational and agricultural schools, and the like, are established and really serve the interests of the people.

The state is divided into school districts, and each district makes provision for a school for the people who live there. Districts may be combined in order to provide better schools. This is often done in densely populated communities. The people of the community provide funds for the erection of schools and for hiring teachers, and select a board of education to look after school matters. The state board of education keeps in close touch with these districts through the county superintendents. These men are appointed by the state board and have general charge of the schools of the county, carrying out the orders of the board and enforcing some of the school laws. They have nothing to do with cities which employ superintendents of schools. These make their reports directly to

the state board. Attendance at school is compulsory between the ages of seven and fourteen, unless the children are taught at home or are unable to attend because of physical or mental defects. The state has also provided for a system of health inspection.

Public Utilities. The state makes it possible for the local governments which are established by state laws to provide what are called public utilities, such as water, gas, and electricity for the people at a small expense; to lay out parks; to provide playgrounds; to open public markets and to render a great many other services of a like character.

The State and the Laborer. The growth of industry has made it necessary for the state to look after the interest of the laborer by factory laws, by tenement house inspection, and the like. The worker is also protected by law against injury and death.

Public Health. The health of the people has become a very important matter because of the crowded districts in which some of them live. This is safeguarded by a State Board of Health, which sees that the health boards which the state requires in the smaller divisions are taking proper precautions to guard against infectious and contagious diseases, and to remove conditions harmful to the health of each community. The health authorities are intrusted with the power of interfering under certain conditions in what used to be considered private family matters. Bulletins are published informing people as to the best ways to keep well. Food is inspected and certain rules must be observed as to wrapping it or exposing it to dirt and germs. Barber shops and ice cream parlors must be carried on according to rules laid down by state and local authorities.

The State and the Farmer. The state government interests itself in the farmer and tries to encourage farming in every way. Bulletins are circulated; experiments are carried on at Rutgers College and other places in the interest of the farmer; and

institutes are held at which important topics are discussed and advice given.

Road Building. Attention is given to road building. Thousands of dollars are set aside to keep the roads in repair and to build others. A commissioner of public roads is appointed to look after these and to collect facts about roads and road building which will be useful to the people.

The State and the Business Man. The business man is served by the state in a variety of ways. He knows that the state government is behind the banks, securing him against loss by insisting that they be carefully managed. Big business organizations cannot become monopolistic. Investments in large corporations are made safer by laws which prevent them from engaging in questionable business practices.

Governmental Divisions and Local Government

The County. In order to carry out the laws more effectively and to provide for the needs of the people of every part of the state, New Jersey has been divided into twenty-one counties. These divisions are used largely for purposes of taxation and to secure a better administration of justice throughout the state. The principal county officers are the freeholders and a sheriff. The freeholders together form a board and act as a legislature for the county, making provisions for the poor, the insane, and those held as prisoners. The sheriff has the care of the county criminals and the county jail and is the most important official in the county. He is the county's chief executive officer. Each county has a county judge and a surrogate who preside over different courts. These judges and the prosecutor of the pleas, whose business it is to appear for the state as the lawyer against those accused of crime, are appointed officers; the freeholders and sheriff are chosen by the voters. So important is the office of sheriff that he cannot be reëlected to succeed himself.

County Divisions. Within each county are to be found smaller divisions known by various names and forming a complicated system. Every person residing within the state finds himself under the immediate authority of officials representing either what is called a village, a township, an incorporated town, a borough, or a city. These do not differ very much as to the general plan of government; they differ rather as to what they do for the people of that community. Some of them are better suited for parts of the state which are thickly settled. A city government, for example, exercises many more powers and has a much more complicated form of government than a township or village. The principal officers are elected and these governments are all subject to laws made by the state legislature. In some cases, as with cities, the legislature has given them a charter defining exactly what they can do. In the township, which is to be found in those parts of the state where the people are few and scattered, the voters come together once a year to a town meeting. Here they elect their officers and provide for the needs of the town. They tax themselves to provide for such matters as the building and care of the roads and the poor, and make laws for the government of the district. The government of the other divisions is more representative, that is, the people seldom come together as a body but select men to act for them. This body may be called a board of trustees in a village, or a common council in a borough, incorporated town, or city. The principal officers in these divisions are a clerk, a collector, a treasurer, an attorney, one or more assessors, and constables or police officers.

Commission Government. If the voters of these smaller divisions of the county wish it, they may have what is called commission government. A petition is circulated among the voters, and, if a sufficient number of names are signed to it an election is held to decide whether the government shall be changed. If the majority of voters are in favor of the change they proceed to elect commissioners. These are chosen with-

out regard to party, that is, there can be no indication of what party they represent on the ticket. The voter may also exercise more than one choice in marking his ballot. Provision is made for four choices. The names of the candidates are arranged in alphabetical order. The ballot is divided into separate columns for each choice. The voter indicates his first choice in the first column and if he so desires may indicate others as his second choice and so on until he has used all four columns. He must not vote twice for the same candidate. When the votes are counted, if no candidate has received a majority of the first-choice votes, or if the full number of candidates (either three or five) do not receive a majority of the first choice votes, then the second choice votes are added to the first choice votes received. The same thing can be done with the third choice votes if there is still no majority. This is called preferential voting. There is no primary election to nominate. Names are placed on the ballot by securing sufficient names to a petition.

This form of government is often preferred because it has the advantage of making the men chosen entirely responsible for the management of affairs. They act as a legislative body and at the same time see to the carrying out of the laws. Each one has a certain department to look after. For example, it may be either revenue and finance, or parks and public property, or public safety, or streets and public improvements, or the department of public affairs. In case there are five commissioners, each one is made responsible for each of these departments; where there is a smaller number of commissioners the departments are combined. Another interesting feature of commission government is a plan by which a group of voters can draw up a law for the consideration of the city or borough or whatever it may be. They can also demand that laws passed by the commissioners shall be referred to them in certain cases. These arrangements are called the initiative and referendum. The voters may also recall any elective officer. To do this

they must circulate a petition stating reasons for the step, and if these reasons satisfy the commissioners an election is held. The officer to be recalled shall be a candidate to succeed himself, unless he wishes it otherwise.

TAXATION

The average citizen is probably as much interested in the taxes which he is required to pay as in anything connected with government. He objects to a heavy tax being placed upon the community and he also objects if he does not seem to get back from the government a satisfactory return for the money he puts into it. The state has therefore tried to work out a plan of raising and collecting money which will be in the interests of the taxpayer and at the same time supply the state with the needed money. The state alone spends between four and five million dollars every year. This is a small part of the money raised by taxes, as every community has its own local needs to supply and these call for thousands of dollars in addition. No tax is ever laid upon the people without their consent, whether it be for local purposes or for the use of the state as a whole. The state legislature fixes the amount to be raised for state purposes. In some cases they must secure the consent of the voters before such a tax can be collected. (See page 46.)

Levying of Taxes. The law-making body of the county provides for county needs and the same thing holds true of the township, borough, or city, as the case may be. This money is provided mainly by taxes on real estate and personal property. Considerable sums are obtained by special taxes such as those on railroads, corporations, and taxes on property which has been inherited. Property is valued or assessed by officers selected for the purpose. It is a difficult matter to value property so that each community and each taxpayer bears his proper share of the burden. The value placed by the assessors of one community on the property there may be very high as

compared with the value placed upon similar property in another community. To secure a fair valuation throughout the entire state, state and county officers meet to equalize assessments and properly distribute the burden. Certain kinds of property are not taxed, as, for example, public buildings, churches, schools, libraries, and charitable institutions. A rate is finally fixed of so much on every \$100 worth of property. This provides at one and the same time for the needs of the city, the county, and the state.

Collecting of Taxes. The taxes are collected by officers selected for this purpose. Each community has its tax collector, who receives the entire amount due from the taxpayer (except some of the special taxes) and after taking out the amount that has been raised for local needs sends the balance to the county collector. The latter, after deducting the amount of the county tax, turns over the state tax to the state treasurer. As an illustration of the way this money is divided, one community in New Jersey collected \$2.24 on every \$100 worth of taxable property; 68% of this was kept by the community, 20% went to the county, and 12% to the state. The special taxes are not counted in the tax rate and are often paid directly to state rather than to local officers.

Relation of the State to the National Government. As these pages have shown, New Jersey has taken an important part in shaping the affairs of the nation as a whole. Although small in area, her dense population gives her an important place among the states of the union. The state is divided into twelve congressional districts and each of these elects a representative to the lower house of Congress. The voters of the whole state select the two United States Senators who represent its interests in the upper house of Congress. New Jersey has furnished two of our presidents, Grover Cleveland, who was born at Caldwell, but later took up his residence in the State of New York, and Woodrow Wilson, who, though not a native of the state, has long been one of its prominent citizens, first as a

professor and then president of Princeton University, and later as governor of the state; from which office he was called to the presidency. Although the average citizen does not feel the existence of the national government to the same extent as the governments of the state and of his locality, its services to him are no less important, especially in times of crisis.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. By what arrangements have the fortunes of the state been placed in the hands of the people themselves?
2. Why is it important that we should know a great deal about the state government? What are some of the things the state does for the business man? the farmer? What in your judgment is the most important service it renders?
3. How far do the people themselves control law-making? What kind of laws can the legislature pass? Mention some matter of interest to your community upon which it could legislate.
4. What are the most important state officers and why?
5. Who are the principal governing officers in your community? How are they chosen? What can they do?
6. A man is arrested charged with a crime. Follow his case through to the highest court in the state. Do the same for a dispute between two men over some property.
7. Which do you consider the more important state division, a county or one of its subdivisions like a township? Why?
8. Inquire as to the officers who govern your community. Who make the laws? enforce them? interpret them?
9. Look up the purposes for which money is raised in your community by taxation. Arrange these items in order of the amounts spent. Justify these expenditures of the people's money.

For additional reading and facts as to the government of the state: Knowlton, D. C., "Government of New Jersey" and "Legislative Manual of the State of New Jersey."¹

¹ Recommended especially for use of teachers.

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